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Iwaxán: a spirit who formerly was a man, assiduous in courting the girls and very clever in causing the latter to allow him to perform coitus with them. If the boy who goes to court the girls happens to have a small bottle of coconut oil on his person, which is quite customary, *Iwaxán* sometimes enters the bottle, so that the girl may smell the fragrance he emits and fall in love with the boy.

5. The wearing of beads. The most powerful in this line are the *buláwan*, round beads, varying much in size, of the color of silver, and possessing a kind of silky lustre. They appear in strings that are worn as necklaces or as ornaments around the headband. Although they prove very attractive to the girl when worn by the boy who comes to court her, these beads are not the exclusive property of the male sex: both men and women make use of them for ornamental purposes.

6. The giving of presents, as rings, trinkets, clothes, and so on. Isneg young men of marriageable age very often carry their articles for chewing betel nut in a pouch (*kélay*), a rather large and generally multicolored handkerchief, hanging from the neck and dangling on the chest; two ends are knotted immediately over the contents with a large double knot, the other two are joined at the top and reach the neck of the wearer. All along both sides, from the receptacle up to about half-way between the latter and the neck, a series of rings (*sañkilát*) covers the cloth. The girl takes betel nut, etc., out of the pouch, and both, boy and girl, occasionally interchange rings, the boy detaching one of his own from his *kélay* to give it to the girl, and the latter adding one of her rings to those of the boy's *kélay*. Such an interchange of rings, however, is not always necessarily a sign of consent on the part of the girl to the advances of the boy: this in modification of a statement made by me in a previous paper (CAC–P, 1: 226).

Incidentally it should be noted here that lovers' gifts are never returned, even though no further steps be taken or though some obstacle come in the way of the realization of the young people's dreams; such gifts always remain the property of the donee.

7. The use of love charms (*mañímud*) to force the girl to think of him. This item is so exceedingly important that I feel obliged to devote a few paragraphs to the same.

Love charms are used exclusively and very often, if not universally, by young men, never by girls. They usually consist of some herbs

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and, if they consider them to be as valuable as that, it is their own business after all. The same may be said with reference to the beads: a single one, if very valuable in the eyes of the natives, may command the price of a carabao or water buffalo, from thirty to fifty dollars, while other ones may be had almost for the asking.

All these jars are earthenware of Chinese make, imported from China long before the arrival of the Spaniards; consequently antiquity is an important item in the estimation of their value. Jars that have been imported recently usually command a much lower price. A great many of the beads also antedate the coming of the Spaniards and were also originally imported from China. Actually, however, beads of all kinds have been put on the market and their origin is very often shrouded in mystery. Isneg plates are all made of course earthenware and have mostly been introduced from China; but, although most of them date from comparatively recent times, they are still of the same kind, shape, color and composition as those they have replaced, as may be proved by fragments occasionally unearthed in places formerly inhabited by Isneg. These people certainly hold fast to their old ways and customs; modern crockery is not to their taste. As the Isneg do not weave their own clothes, the latter have of necessity to be bought from outsiders.

During the *amómān* it is also decided whether the boy has to stay with his parents-in-law or not, and for how long in case he has to do so, which is the customary way. The number of years varies very much, as some stay three years, others from five to ten, and even in a few cases the husband never goes back to the house of his own parents.

No really important business can be transacted, of course, among the Isneg, without remembering the cravings of the stomach. In the ordinary course of events one or more pigs are slaughtered according to the social standing of the girl's parents. If they are too poor to indulge in such prodigality, a chicken will do. In both cases a dog may complete the menu, although this is not absolutely required. No special name is given to the killing and consuming of the chicken; but if one or more pigs enter the lists, the whole ceremony is called *pildáp*. Nevertheless in a few isolated cases, when the people are much too poor, the banquet is completely left out, and the deliberations are conducted on empty stomachs.

All during the *amómān* the men conduct everything that is connected with the *pildáp*. The *dorarákit* or shamaness does not interfere in the least.

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whenever possible the dead body of an adult is forcibly confined to the grave after one or two nights (night of burial always included). Occasionally in some out-of-the-way places, the Isneg may stick to their old custom or at least to the modified one, but this becomes rarer and rarer every day. Children are usually interred after one or two nights according to age and size (Abbil, Musimut, Bolo, etc.), so that in many cases a child who dies in the morning is buried in the evening of the same day.

And now we come to the digging of the grave. The grave consists of a hole in the ground, large enough to contain the coffined body, but usually not as deep as is actually required by law (1½ meters). This is always begun by a woman (*mañusim*) who may be a shamaness or not. This operation, however, is rather ceremonial than practical, as immediately afterwards men do the real work. If jars have to be buried together with the coffined body, a special round hole is dug near the ordinary grave, in such a way as to have the buried jars situated at the right of the dead man's body, near the place of his head if the body is lying down. When digging a hole in the ground, the Isneg use the *sáwit* or blunt point at the back of a headax, or any other instrument, to loosen the earth, and an old basket or a coconut shell (in the case of digging a grave, usually the former), to extract the loose earth and throw it out. For the rest, no definite orientation of grave or body is required, and anybody is allowed to dig the grave, as well as to carry the body and to cover it with earth: there are no persons specifically designated for these purposes. In no case are children allowed to stay near a tomb in which a body has been buried recently (*lábūg*).

Among the Kankanay, young men vie with each other to carry the body of a rich person to its last resting place, as they believe that, if the matter which exudes from the decomposed body (*deñ* in Kankanay, pronounced like English "dung") trickles upon their own, they also will be blessed by this world's goods. No such belief exists among the Isneg.

Formerly the grave was always dug under the house, and if the gravediggers happened to open a *lúbo-*, a grave already occupied, the lately deceased person was simply interred over the remains of the one in possession. This particular selection of the site for a grave gave rise, as was told me by the natives themselves, to the custom of the Isneg, which obtains to this day, of definitively stopping their work at a new house, and of going to choose some other place for the erec-

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portion. The blade consists in a thin piece of iron, about two inches broad over its whole length, sharp at one end, and provided at the opposite end with a hollow socket that encloses the end of the handle. The handle is made of any kind of wood. The *saguwá-* is used for planting (*magtognó, tognowán*) rice and Indian corn.

The *xádaṅ* is another kind of dibble which consists merely of a straight stick of hard wood, about one yard long and pointed at one end. It is used, like the *saguwá-*, for planting rice and Indian corn.

When the Isneg woman goes planting, she also takes along a receptacle for seeds, called *tupáṅ*, which is just an ordinary *dúyog* or coconut shell. She ties it somewhere at her waist in such a way as to be easily reached with the left hand. The *tupáṅ* is used for holding seeds of rice or Indian corn.

The *taxímmatón* or sign for the *agtotognó* (time of planting) is the appearance of the *biyón* or pods of the *tablán* or coral tree, which has been mentioned formerly under the same circumstances. As soon as the coral tree is covered with fruits the Isneg woman understands that it is time for her to confide the *aggí-* (seeds) of rice to the soil.

Planting is done like this: the woman holds the dibble (*saguwá-* or *xádaṅ*) in her right hand and bores a hole (*magtuná-*) in the ground; at the same time she gets a few seeds (usually three) from the *tupáṅ*-cup and drops them into the hole, with her left hand; then she covers the hole and fills it up with her right foot. The whole work is done standing, and if any kind of stooping is necessary, it is very slight; so that an experienced planter can finish a large plot in a comparatively short time. The holes are usually bored in such a way as to form more or less parallel rows (*tòrintén*), which are rarely straight: the only aim of the woman is to render subsequent work in the field easy for herself and safe for the plants. The distance between the plants is mostly about one foot (*taṅadapán*): if the planter is still a novice, she measures the distance with one of her feet, while experienced planters scorn to do so.

As soon as the *agtotognó* or time of planting has come, the Isneg merely waits for a favorable opportunity to begin the work. In some places, at Bayag for instance, the man or the woman goes to the field on the day that precedes the *alópat* (which will be described presently) in order to perform the *agpaáyab*, which has been mentioned before in connection with the *si-dúg* (burning). Once there, a few grains of rice are thrown into the field, and one of the following prayers is recited:

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on the ground in rows more or less at right angles to the line of the reapers.

Besides her *ikó*-knife, the reaper carries a small basket (*arín*) attached somewhere at her waist by means of a strip of rattan, and used for storing *xúput*, that is, detached branches (of ears), ears that are cut too closely to the neck making it impossible to tie them with the rest, and immature ears that could not be kept for any length of time. The *arín* is a basket, square at the rim and round at the bottom, from twelve to fifteen inches deep, with a diameter, at the rim, of from eight to ten inches.

The reapers generally protect the calves of their legs by winding rags around them: these rags actually go under the pompous name of *sipátut* (from the Spanish *zapatos*), "shoes".

Now let us consider the preparations that have to be made before harvesting is begun.

First of all, materials have to be gathered (*manalibtá-*) for making bands (*battá-*: the same name is applied to the bundle itself), of which each reaper always has a certain quantity about her person. This gathering of materials and the making of the bands, which consist of thin strips of bamboo or bark, about half a yard long, are men's duties, although women occasionally lend a helping hand in putting the last touch to the thinning of the strips.

The kinds of bamboo preferred by the Isneg for this particular purpose, are:

The *kawáyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo.

The *pasíñan*, differing from the *kawáyan* in its walls that are lined with a membrane.

The *báyug*, a kind of unarmed bamboo with very thick walls and a comparatively narrow cavity.

The *ballowít*, a kind of very slender unarmed bamboo.

Besides the bamboo, the Isneg also use the *sirút* or bark of the *sinalíxān*, a forest tree; and some people even consider this as the best material.

Should anybody sneeze (*magbanán*) when starting to gather these materials, they must not go on, but wait until the next day, lest one of them die and be unable to partake of the new rice.

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243 782 415 Then the *sixāy*-hut has to be looked over, and if anything is wanting, it must be brought in. In each *sixāy* there should be a *dapág* or hearth, with fire (*apáy*), but no taxáń (three stones for supporting cooking utensils), as no cooking is done there.

A mortar (*altóń*) and one or more pestles (*alló*) must also be present, but the former may find its place at the outside.

Before the harvest begins, the following objects have to be brought to the *sixāy*:

The *subná-*: a bunch of betel nuts and one of betel leaves (no lime). The *subná-* is put down on the floor of the hut, near the fire, and every day, as long as the harvest lasts, some part of it is used for the *inapúxān* (betel for chewing) of the spirits.

A *patuxáw*: a large basket (ordinary type: square bottom, round rim) for storing the *xúput* or immature rice and the rest, that has been collected in the *arín*-baskets of the reapers, mentioned above. It is placed near the fire, and people are absolutely forbidden to walk over it, on pain of causing the spirit (*kaduduwá*) [35] of their rice to leave and to go over to someone else's rice. At each meal eaten in this hut, at harvesting time, the Isneg place *inapúxān* and a few ears of palay in the *patuxáw*. This basket is not removed from the *sixāy* till after the harvest, when the *inapúxān* it contains is thrown away, and the palay is roasted over the fire, pounded and eaten.

Last but not least, the *aligmamán*. Strictly speaking, the *aligmamán* is a small basket of the ordinary type (square bottom, round rim), and is of daily use for storing betel, lime and so on. In the *sixāy*-hut, however, it is used for storing amulets, and the name *aligmamán* is given to any kind of small basket, whether the *aligmamán* proper or some other one, for instance the *sinalimbáń*, which is a kind of small fancy basket of different shapes, made from sundry materials, and consequently rather ornate. At the beginning of the harvest, and later on, at any time, as long as palay is being cut in that particular field, amulets are placed in the *aligmamán*, so that very soon there is a whole assortment of them. They may be chosen from the following list:

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Xippaxippáw: A kind of herb placed in the *aligmamán* on the first day, before any reaping has been done.

Karráń: A leafless plant, mentioned before. A whole basketful of these is placed in the hut on the morning of the first day of the

[35] The same term is used for the spirit of man.

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fruits (*bísi-*), male flowers (*bu-gá-*), and young shoots (*rañáw*) are used for vegetables.

The *tabuñáw* (Lagenaria leucantha [Lam.] Rusby), bottle gourd, especially the Hercules'-club. Its fruits (*bísi-*) and young shoots (*rañáw*) are used for vegetables. Several varieties of bottle gourd are cultivated by the Isneg:

The *kandól*, dipper gourd.

The *bakóba-*, calabash. Universally used for storing rice.

The *lupídy*: A kind of huge calabash.

The *tabáyad*: A kind of small white calabash. Sometimes used for storing rice.

The *busińán*: A kind of very small calabash. Universally used for storing lime.

The *bakuwáw*. Its young shoots are glabrous.

The *kabatíti* (Luffa cylindrica, Roem.). Its fruits (*bísi-*) are used for vegetables. The variety with ribbed fruits is called *balídan*.

The *pariyá* (Momordica charantia, L.). Its fruits and young shoots are used for vegetables.

The *tańkúy* (Benincasa hispida [Thunb.] Cogn.). Its fruits are used for vegetables.

The *kasímun* (Cucumis sativus, L.), cucumber.

The *túpa-* (Citrullus vulgaris [L.] Schrad.), watermelon.

The *kamáit* or *amákis* (from the Spanish *tomates*), (Lycopersicum esculentum, Mill.), tomato. The variety with small globose fruits.

The *tarón* (Solanum melongena, L.), eggplant.

The *amsí* (Solanum nigrum, L.), nightshade. Its young leaves are used for vegetables.

The *síli*, a general name for the following plants:

The *to-rán* (Capsicum frutescens, L.), chile or spur pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) are used for vegetables, and its small fruits for condiments.

The *amilíń*, a variety of the preceding, with somewhat larger fruits.

The *zappó-* (Capsicum annuum, L.), green pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) and fruits (*bísi-*) are used for vegetables.

The *kambóń*, perhaps Solanum crassipetalum, Wall. Its large fruits are used for vegetables.

The *salúyut* or *salúyaw* (Corchorus olitorius, L.), jute or Jews' mallow. Its leaves are used for vegetables.

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(*magkaskás*) from the *agdĕrăyān*-pole and then piled up (*magsaldít*) somewhere on the floor of the house, next to the wall, where they are left to cure. To keep the bulk (*saldít*) of tobacco leaves in place, a stick is fixed somewhere in the floor, and the bulk of tobacco finds its place between this stick on one side and the wall of the house on the other.

While the tobacco is curing, the men prepare (*mañolapí*) boxes (*kolapí*) for the final storage. These *kolapí*, which are as high as they are long and very narrow, are made from the bark of one or more of the following trees:

The *adaán*, a forest tree with large leaves.
The *ánut*, a forest tree whose timber is not much esteemed.
The *labdó*, mentioned before, when treating sugar cane.

Before storing (*ipintá-*) the hands of tobacco in the *kolapí*, the Isneg spread some *bánăy*-leaves on the bottom, to serve as a pad (*annáp*) and to cause the leaves to become red. The *bánăy* is a very tall zingiberaceous plant with white flowers and grows in thickets of bamboo grass and in waste places.

To cause the tobacco to appear very valuable to prospective buyers, some *taróyog* are mixed with the leaves stored in the *kolapí* (box). The *taróyog* is a low herb that grows in forested areas.

V. The Isneg Orchard

The Isneg have no idea of a real orchard as we understand it. Nevertheless there is no village, almost no house, where they have not at least a few coco palms growing on the grounds, which surround the house yard or the group of houses that constitute a village. To people who walk along a mountain path or paddle down a river on a canoe or a raft, these coco palms are very often visible from a great distance and are the surest sign of the actual or former existence of one or more habitations in their immediate neighborhood.

All fruit trees planted by the Isneg are to be found on the grounds just mentioned, but there is none more precious and more important to the inhabitants of Apayaw than the universally cultivated coco palm or *iyúg*.

As to the question of its introduction into Apayaw, let us listen to what *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch) has to tell us about it:

Naggăyatán năyá iyúg
Origin of the coconut

low box about three feet square, filled with earth. In its center are set on end three long stones in a triangular position, which hold the clay cooking pot over the fire beneath. Fire is obtained by striking flint with steel and kindling tinder with the spark; or by rubbing two bamboo sticks together. There are also a round-bottomed iron frying pan and various paddles and ladles. Above the stove is a drying rack, and against the end wall are secured shelves which hold the old Chinese plates and other articles and materials. This end of the room is used for the kitchen, sometimes as the dining room, and as a general work shop. Woven sleeping mats are used, and there are chests for the securing of precious articles. Light from the fire furnishes illumination at night.

There should also be several lovely old ancestral Chinese jars, *gasi*, probably of the Ming dynasty period. In these is kept the *basi*, a pleasant wine made from the juice of the sugar cane. These ancient Chinese jars are much prized by the people. They have a typical shape, and range in size from one to three feet in height. Some of them have dragons and other figures embossed on them. Others have pictures of Chinese scenes and conventional patterns: this being especially true of the white jars with blue designs. They are glazed; some in lovely shapes of brown, yellow and blue. The people have quite a lore about them. There are a number of different varieties and different qualities in each variety. The *dordori* stands first; next is the *garadogod*. Some of the others are the *dinalasan, banaag, kindi-ingan, binilibil, boddi* and *sarang*. Much of the wealth of the Apayaos is held in these jars, together with the beads.

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The jars[1] are
523 valued up to P200 and bead up to P150 each. They
[435] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[431] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[681] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens,
000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

[1] [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST 8]

252 412 [415] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 857 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games. [868] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [861] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

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Ancestral jars, full bast, set out at a feast.